

PEACE NEWS

The International Pacifist Weekly

No. 1,067 December 7, 1956 4d. (U.S. Air Express Edition: 10 cts.)

Middle East still "on the brink"

By Roy Sherwood

ALTHOUGH Mr. Selwyn Lloyd handled his desperate case in the House of Commons on Monday with skill, the words most likely to be remembered by people of that first debate (to be continued after this has gone to Press) were spoken by other people—Mr. Aneurin Bevan and Mr. Grimond.

The assurance of sympathy for Mr. Lloyd for "having to sound the bugles of advance to cover his retreat" was a good example of Mr. Bevan's aptitude for devastating comment; and his final remark "having regard to the Government's obvious embarrassment I feel I would be a bully if I proceeded any further" showed his ability to be also generous to a vanquished opponent.

As for Mr. Grimond, he too gave evidence of a quicker and more penetrating mind than any on the Government benches when he asked: "If it is really the view of the Government that their policy has not succeeded because of the Opposition, ought they not to resign?"

It is not often that a Parliamentary Opposition with a permanent majority of about seventy against it sees a Government beaten to its knees as this one has been beaten.

But, lest Labour self-congratulation grow too jubilant, let it be remembered that if world opinion had not been almost solidly aligned against the British-French adventure, Sir Anthony Eden and M. Mollet would not have been stopped in the pursuit of their defiance of United Nations Charter provisions and their flat reversal of the 1950 Tripartite Declaration.

JORDAN

NOW-AID FOR EGYPTIANS, TOO

"I want a national appeal"—Geo. Wigg, MP

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

DESPITE the fact that The Times and most of the other leading British newspapers have refused to publish his letter appealing for aid to those who are homeless and hungry in Egypt as a result of the recent invasion, George Wigg, MP (Lab., Dudley), has succeeded in raising £500 for this purpose.

The money is being transmitted to the Near East for use in Gaza and Egypt through Inter-Church Aid (10 Eaton Gate, London, S.W.1) and the Near East Christian Council Committee for Refugee Work. This Council has sub-committees at work in all Near East countries. There have been no expenses in raising the money.

"I want to see a national appeal launched," Mr. Wigg told Peace News on Tuesday.

So far he has been unable to secure support for this. Only the Manchester Guardian and the New Statesman have published his appeals.

"I want to keep politics out of this," he added.

George Wigg, who was a former Labour Parliamentary Private Secretary to the War Minister, has offered to go out to Egypt with a party willing to undertake reconstruction and rehabilitation work.

Asked by Peace News whether he would be willing to join with International Voluntary Service for Peace if a project could be organised, he said that he would certainly consider this.

THOUSANDS HOMELESS

Peace News understands that one of the difficulties in launching a national campaign is the Government's reluctance to make known the extent of the need, although one Conservative newspaper, The Daily Express, has referred to 1,000 killed, 5,000 wounded and 25,000 homeless.

A representative of the Egyptian Embassy in America informed Elmore Jackson, of the American Friends' Service Committee, that there are now about 60,000 refugees in Cairo, and 90,000 to 100,000 further refugees in the Suez Canal area and spread through villages and towns in Lower Egypt.

An American Quaker is in Egypt assessing the relief needs.

In Oxford a local appeal has been launched by Professor Coulson and others. This has raised over £100.

In the House of Commons on Monday Mr. Arthur Lewis (Lab., West Ham North) asked why the British Government would not offer reparations to Egypt for damage caused by their attack.

Mr. Dods-Parker, for the Government, said liability was not admitted.

In a second question Mr. Lewis asked whether, "as a mark of Great Britain's good faith, he will offer to make an *ex gratia* payment to the several thousand Egyptian people who lost their homes in the shelling and rocket fire of Port Said by the British forces."

★ ON BACK PAGE

HUNGARY'S TRAGEDY

From Peace News' Vienna Correspondent who visited Budapest a few weeks ago

TWO PER CENT of Hungary's ten million population are either dead or seriously wounded or have escaped to neutral Austria. Those left behind are carrying out non-violent resistance, facing mortal dangers.

The workers of Budapest and other industrial centres—united and confident of final victory—have organised several general strikes against the invading army and the ruthless "security forces" of General Serov, called "the tiger."

The puppet Government of Kadar, which did not succeed in breaking the resistance, has recognised the workers' Central Committee as the negotiating body of the strikers.

Treacherous attack

The Hungarian revolution on October 23 was a spontaneous reaction to terrorism. Fifty thousand students and young

peasants, including numerous Jews who fought against Russian troops.

The puppet Government has a scanty administrative organisation, the real power lies in the hands of workers' committees, who demand the return of Nagy.

Proclamations by Kadar were distributed by Russian soldiers, but the population has no confidence in him. The real power is exercised by commanders of Russian troops.

In order to break the morale of resisters General Ivan Serov—responsible for the deportation of hundreds of thousands in the Baltic States—ordered the indiscriminate arrest of people in the streets, particularly of the young.

Railwaymen in several districts succeeded by sabotage actions in preventing the deportation of thousands. The effect of deportations was a large-scale flight to neutral Austria.

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JORDAN

NOW, for the time being, the main point of interest in Middle-East affairs has shifted to Jordan and Syria. Jordan is supposed to be in danger of annihilation as an independent State, under the pressure of neighbouring countries, and Syria is reported to have become the advance base of Communist infiltration and penetration.

How far these reports are to be trusted is doubtful.

It is certain that Jordan wants to cut loose completely from Britain but not at all certain that she wants Soviet domination in exchange.

More probably, she wants to preserve her independence, in friendship with neighbouring Arab States as well as Egypt, mostly in fear of Israel and partly in the hope of a general increase in Arab influence.

SYRIA

AS for Syria, there is little doubt that she can count on every possible help from the Soviets and may be subjected to every possible temptation to "sell herself" to the Russians.

Her common frontier (in the north) with Turkey would turn her into an immensely

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The students obtained arms from factories and military barracks to fight the AVO. A peaceful and unarmed mass meeting on the next day at Parliament was suddenly attacked by AVO-forces and later by Russian tanks, in consequence of which fighting spread all over the country.

The truce which followed was suddenly broken by the treacherous attack of Russian tank divisions on Sunday, November 4.

The truce committee of the Hungarian army was arrested at the Russian Headquarters, the legal and recognised Government of Imre Nagy was deposed by force and the new puppet Government of Kadar "requested" the Russian army to save Hungary from "counter-revolution and fascism."

Non-Cooperation

They crushed the armed resistance after several days, but the workers reacted by strike and non-co-operation.

Correspondents of foreign newspapers, among them the Italian Socialist Matteotti, confirmed that the Russian army was fighting not "fascists and reactionaries" but the Hungarian nation.

Communist reports of "anti-semitic" actions and "murdering of workers" are untrue; refugees in Austria are mostly workers and

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The intervention of the Russian army has ruined Hungary's economy. The damage done in Budapest alone is estimated ("Tageszeitung," Vienna, November 23) at £100 million.

Production has been almost at a standstill for many weeks, transport is disrupted and the power supply has fallen to a fraction of the requirements. Tens of thousands of workers are dead or have fled to Austria, thus preventing the efficient running of the factories.

Refugees

The younger generation is decimated; the whole University of Moson—students with their lecturers—have taken refuge in Austria.

As after World War II, the problem of refugees has become an international concern. The population of Austria—round seven million—"increased" by over one per cent within a few days.

Austria has appealed to the world for immediate and large-scale assistance.

Frontier villages and towns in Austria are crowded with refugees who receive every possible help. Austrians have responded marvelously to the appeals of the Government, the Red Cross and numerous private bodies.

A street collection has been organised in Vienna. The total amounts received reached about £1 million (70 m. Austrian sh.).

The contributions transferred from the Lord Mayor of London's Hungarian Fund are very much appreciated in Vienna.

Still larger amounts will be needed to feed the refugees, until they can go to countries which have accepted responsibilities in accordance with the United Nations' resolution.

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PILGRIMAGE ACROSS EUROPE

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It has been proposed that two tractors and trailers should accompany the march.

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It has been proposed that two tractors and trailers should accompany the marchers through the towns and villages of Britain, France, Germany and Switzerland and that these, with any other supplies collected en route, should be sent on from Geneva as gifts to the people of Hungary and Egypt.

This is the latest outcome of an appeal made recently by the British journalist, Mr. Philip Toynbee.

At a meeting called in London last Saturday by Mr. Toynbee an *ad hoc* committee was set up to work on the project. It was asked to aim provisionally at April 7 as the date when the procession would start on its way from Britain.

Organisation is in the hands of D. Martin Smith, an Australian free-lance journalist, of 54 West Kensington Mansions, Beaumont Crescent, London, W.14.

Students from Oxford, London and Bristol attended last Saturday's meeting, at which Philip Toynbee reported that over 120 people had responded to his appeal.

Stella Alexander, Hugh Brock and Geric Sharp were among other journalists present at the meeting.

It was considered undesirable for the march to go to Vienna, as originally suggested, since Austria was now heavily burdened with refugees, and this situation was likely to continue.

Peace News will carry further reports as planning of the project proceeds.

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Mr. J. T. Murphy, who writes on page six, is a former international Communist leader and associate of Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin. He is seen here (at back with son) on Lenin's tomb, 1927. Left to right, front: Rykov, Bucharin, Kalinin, Uglanov, Stalin and Tomsy.

Mr. Murphy, after several years of re-evaluation and thinking, now concludes: "... the great, indeed the dominant issue is ... the elimination of the military power disease from the life of man ..."

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December 7th 1956

Editorial and Publishing office.
3 Blackstock Road,
London N.4
Tel.: STAmford Hill 2262

PEACE NEWS

Distribution office for U.S.A.
130 Brattle St.
Cambridge 38 Mass.

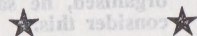
HUNGARY AND EGYPT

EVERYONE in the West with a regard for liberal values must today feel a sense of tragic impotence in regard to what is happening to the people of Hungary. This applies both to pacifists and those whose thought is still directed by militaristic assumptions.

(This cannot, of course, apply to the reactionaries of the "Suez Group" and their like, whose refusal to contemplate the human aspects of what has been done at Port Said merely underlines the indecent hypocrisy of their indignation at the Russian action in Hungary.)

Both pacifists and militarists, however, are at one in the acceptance that it is impossible to help the Hungarian people by force of arms, because this would not only be likely to bring about their complete destruction as a people but would also threaten the destruction of the other peoples of the world.

This does not imply that nothing should be attempted on behalf of the Hungarian people and the other peoples held in subjection in Eastern Europe.



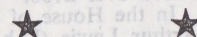
WHAT it does mean is that we must first of all face the fact that the assumptions upon which the Western bloc has been built have been proved fallacious and that the brunt of the consequent failure is now being borne by the Hungarian people.

In the endeavour to build up the NATO military structure the captive peoples of Eastern Europe have been encouraged to believe that this could ultimately contribute to their liberation. This idea has been fostered by all kinds of propaganda including day by day broadcasting programmes.

It has for years been evident that this claim was a fallacy, and the Geneva meetings of 1955 marked a general acceptance that such a view could henceforth have no validity.

The facing of this fact at Geneva—that the remedy of such ills by means of warfare was no longer a policy that could be contemplated because of the menace of the H-bomb—nevertheless, did not lead to the reorientation in policies that was so obviously indicated.

The statesmen have spent the intervening year-and-a-half in trying to contrive that the old policies might be followed, but on a carefully limited scale. The Franco-British Suez debacle is a striking indication of the unreality of this attitude.



IF the subject peoples of Eastern Europe are to be liberated new means should be adopted, and the method that should now be tried was indicated in the In Perspective notes last week.

The Russian Government—however much it may have been motivated by Communist ideology in the past—remains in control of the nations of Eastern Europe because it holds that such control is necessary to Russian security.

There is nothing distinctively Communist about this attitude. It is merely the idea that there is greater safety in pushing back as far as possible the siting of bases from which hostile action may be launched.

It is this consideration that is causing the Israeli Government to announce that it will retain the Gaza strip, irrespective of the human tragedy that this must mean for the unfortunate refugees who have already fled from their earlier homes into this area.

"EDEN tried to make Britain great." It is suggested that this is the theme upon which the Conservative Party in Parliament feel they might very well face the electors.

It is thought that this kind of appeal to a witless romanticism combined with the fact that the Opposition had rejoiced in "Britain's humiliation" could give the Conservatives a chance.

It has not only been the Labour opposition, however, that has been appalled at the action of the British Government.

All the more responsible opinion in the country has been dismayed, in the Labour Party and out of it, including a considerable section of the Conservative Party.

It is a fact that the humiliation of the Eden Government as a result of this action offers the main possibility of good that may come out of what has happened.

From the standpoint of material loss and decline in moral standing, Britain is probably only beginning to see the extent of the bill that has been incurred; she is likely to have to pay a good deal more than is immediately apparent.

What is to the good is that it has been demonstrated that the risks hanging over all, in this age of possible thermo-nuclear warfare, are such that an aggression of the type undertaken by France and Britain cannot achieve success.

As to humiliation, it is there all right! Mr. Selwyn Lloyd did his best with the announcement of the British and French capitulation to world opinion, but it was a pitiful business; although not so pitiful as the display that came subsequently from the Waterhouse wing of Tories.

The fact that there is this sense of humiliation, and the feeling of soreness at the great body of British opinion that had perforce come to hope for it, will mean that Britain's moral standing will not have sunk so low in the world as that of France, where there has been nothing of the sense of moral outrage that has been so widely felt in Britain.

The impotence of decent French opinion today is something that calls for mourning.

we have made it very clear that in our view the Russian action has greatly exceeded in callous ruthlessness the action of Britain and France.

This does not mean at all that we accept without question the official accounts of damage done in Egypt. We believe that this has been greatly understated. In the photographs we reproduced last week we sought to

We have been warned



This bitter cartoon of Guy Mollé appeared recently in the Tunisian weekly, L'Action. This newspaper, journal of the Neo Destour, is extremely moderate, extremely pro-Western, staying this way even after the kidnapping by the French of the four leaders of the Algerian revolution. But the Franco-British invasion of Egypt was the last straw.

help people understand the extent of the damage.

We believe also that the official Allied figures of the number of civilians killed and wounded are also a grave understatement.

Making all allowances for these facts, however, we hold that those who are unable to perceive that the Russian action in Hungary has by far exceeded the Franco-British action in

States mentioned, has representation in the United Nations. As an independent sovereign State, Hungary has as much right as France or Britain to adopt a system of free multi-party elections if its people so desire.

When Russia subscribed to the Charter of the United Nations, recognised the sovereign equality of all members and undertook to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity and political independence of any State, this recognition and undertaking applied to Hungary.

The fact that Russia has troops in Hungary in accordance with the Warsaw Pact no more gives Russia the right to control the Hungarian Government than the fact that the US has bases in Britain gives the US the right to control the British Government.

It seems to us that our critics from this angle are asking us to recognise the plain fact that Hungary and the other Communist States we have named have never actually been independent States. Of course, we do recognise this plain fact just as much as they do. The difference is that we do not condone it.

That Hungary has been called an independent State by Russia but never treated as such is not a fact that extenuates Russia's present monstrous aggression. It merely points to the persistent immorality and hypocrisy of the Russian Government's policy.

Cyprus

DURING the last few weeks Cyprus has figured in the news chiefly as a piece of land conveniently near Egypt. To some Britons it may seem that the Suez crisis has fully justified our Government's attitude to self-determination for Cyprus.

Many a Cypriot, however, seeing his country used as a base, not for the defences of freedom, but for imperialist aggression against a small country which has been outspoken in its support of Cypriot aspirations, has become still more anxious to be rid of British control.

Although EOKA has been little mentioned recently, last week's startling announcement of an apparently unlimited extension of the



WHAT it does mean is that the most first of all face the fact that the assumptions upon which the Western bloc has been built have been proved fallacious and that the brunt of the consequent failure is now being borne by the Hungarian people.

In the endeavour to build up the NATO military structure the captive peoples of Eastern Europe have been encouraged to believe that this could ultimately contribute to their liberation. This idea has been fostered by all kinds of propaganda including day by day broadcasting programmes.

It has for years been evident that this claim was a fallacy, and the Geneva meetings of 1955 marked a general acceptance that such a view could henceforth have no validity.

The facing of this fact at Geneva—that the remedy of such ills by means of warfare was no longer a policy that could be contemplated because of the menace of the H-bomb—nevertheless, did not lead to the reorientation in policies that was so obviously indicated.

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There is nothing distinctively Communist about this attitude. It is merely the idea that there is greater safety in pushing back as far as possible the siting of bases from which hostile action may be launched.

It is this consideration that is causing the Israeli Government to announce that it will retain the Gaza strip, irrespective of the human tragedy that this must mean for the unfortunate refugees who have already fled from their earlier homes into this area.

When a piece of territory is claimed to be necessary as a military “bastion” the power that makes the claim has little regard for the wishes of the people who inhabit the “bastion” area. Just as this applies to the Gaza strip, so it applies in the British attitude to Cyprus and in the Russian attitude to its East European “glacis.”

★ ★
THE way to help the people of East Europe is to seek to eliminate these considerations of military calculation.

To do this it would be necessary to offer to abandon NATO and the military structure that has been built up to implement it in Europe in return for the abandonment of the Warsaw Pact and the deployment of Russian troops over Eastern Europe provided for in this Pact.

This proposal should be linked with plans for the re-unification of Germany (in regard to which we would say that there must be both free elections and, as a preliminary, consultations between the West and East German Governments).

It could, as we suggested last week, involve agreement upon an extensive neutral area which would cover all Germany and the present Russian satellite States in East Europe, and possibly also the Scandinavian nations as well as Switzerland.

Following upon the Hungarian happenings it is clear that there must be some kind of reappraisal of Russian policy, for better or worse. If there is a chance that it may be for the better the West may help by the means we have indicated to bring about the liberation of the captive peoples.

There is a heavy moral obligation upon it to make the attempt.

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Egypt & Hungary

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There are those who hold that, although the action of the French and British Governments calls for condemnation, it is not just to treat it as being on the same level of criminal brutality as the Russian action.

There are others, however (including a figure, of whom we have the highest regard, of international standing among war resisters), who take the view that to equate the Franco-British action in Egypt with the Russian action in Hungary is unjust to Russia.

It is obvious to us that the British and Russian Governments were both aggressors and both were engaged in shocked moral condemnation of the other. In this respect the equation is there: it exists in the facts.

In editorial comment, however,



This bitter cartoon of Guy Mollet appeared recently in the Tunisian weekly, *L'Action*. This newspaper, journal of the Neo Destour, is extremely moderate, extremely pro-Western, staying this way even after the kidnapping by the French of the four leaders of the Algerian revolution. But the Franco-British invasion of Egypt was the last straw.

help people understand the extent of the damage.

We believe also that the official Allied figures of the number of civilians killed and wounded are also a grave understatement.

Making all allowances for these facts, however, we hold that those who are unable to perceive that the Russian action in Hungary has by far exceeded the Franco-British action in inhuman brutality are prevented by their own preconceptions from recognising plain facts.

The criticisms of those who hold that we have dealt with the Russian Government too harshly, however, are not so much concerned with the comparative extent of the bloody deeds perpetrated in Hungary and Egypt.

They are based on specious legalistic arguments as to the difference in character between the permanent relationships existing between Britain and Egypt on the one hand and between Russia and Hungary on the other.

Immorality

ACCORDING to the Russian claim, Hungary—like Bulgaria, Albania, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Poland—is an independent sovereign State. It is on this assumption, that Hungary, like the other

It seems to us that our critics from this angle are asking us to recognise the plain fact that Hungary and the other Communist States we have named have never actually been independent States. Of course, we do recognise this plain fact just as much as they do. The difference is that we do not condone it.

That Hungary has been called an independent State by Russia but never treated as such is not a fact that extenuates Russia's present monstrous aggression. It merely points to the persistent immorality and hypocrisy of the Russian Government's policy.

Cyprus

DURING the last few weeks Cyprus has figured in the news chiefly as a piece of land conveniently near Egypt. To some Britons it may seem that the Suez crisis has fully justified our Government's attitude to self-determination for Cyprus.

Many a Cypriot, however, seeing his country used as a base, not for the defences of freedom, but for imperialist aggression against a small country which has been outspoken in its support of Cypriot aspirations, has become still more anxious to be rid of British control.

Although EOKA has been little mentioned recently, last week's startling announcement of an apparently unlimited extension of the death penalty for those convicted of “consorting with terrorists” indicates that force is still proving ineffective as a means of achieving order.

The absurdity of the Government's repressive campaign is revealed by the fact that it has now antagonised both the editors of the two English language newspapers in the island—once most loyal supporters of British policy.

The editor of the Times of Cyprus has just been summoned for printing a “disturbing report”—the offending article being a reprint of a dispatch cabled to a London daily paper which is itself obtainable in the island.

Even if there is any foundation for the hope expressed by the Greek Foreign Minister last week that negotiations will soon be resumed with Archbishop Makarios, there seems little possibility of reconciliation whilst the Cyprus Government continues its repressive policy.

From the Editor's Notebook

Not that “ism” either

“I HAD previously understood your organisation to be Communist-sponsored, but am now not sure of this,” writes a member of Oswald Mosley's Union Movement who bought his first copy of Peace News from one of our London street-sellers.

In Costa Rica (where the President's wife, Señora Figueres, is a pacifist and the War Office taken over for education) there is the pacifist farming township of Monetverde.

In the heart of the South American continent, in Paraguay, there is the Bruderhof to which Peace News goes each week as it does also to readers

Colonial freedom in Morocco

FENNEN BROCKWAY gave me a letter to take to Morocco which recommended me in terms which I could not but think of as flattering to all friends of the Movement there.

By Commander T. Fox-Pitt
Secretary, Anti-Slavery Society

There are contingents of the French army in all big centres of French settlement. “Independence” will not

patient, politically conscious, educated urban Moroccans. They hated the members of the Istiqlal or Independence Party and hate them still as the cause of all their humiliations.

When a piece of territory is claimed to be necessary as a military "bastion" the power that makes the claim has little regard for the wishes of the people who inhabit the "bastion" area. Just as this applies to the Gaza strip, so it applies in the British attitude to Cyprus and in the Russian attitude to its East European "glacis."

★ ★ THE way to help the people of East Europe is to seek to eliminate these considerations of military calculation.

To do this it would be necessary to offer to abandon NATO and the military structure that has been built up to implement it in Europe in return for the abandonment of the Warsaw Pact and the deployment of Russian troops over Eastern Europe provided for in this Pact.

This proposal should be linked with plans for the re-unification of Germany (in regard to which we would say that there must be both free elections and, as a preliminary, consultations between the West and East German Governments).

It could, as we suggested last week, involve agreement upon an extensive neutral area which would cover all Germany and the present Russian satellite States in East Europe, and possibly also the Scandinavian nations as well as Switzerland.

Following upon the Hungarian happenings it is clear that there must be some kind of reappraisal of Russian policy, for better or worse. If there is a chance that it may be for the better the West may help by the means we have indicated to bring about the liberation of the captive peoples.

There is a heavy moral obligation upon it to make the attempt.

Colonial freedom in Morocco

FENNER BROCKWAY gave me a letter to take to Morocco which recommended me in terms which I could not but think of as flattering to all friends of the Movement there. Without this letter the coolness towards the English, caused by the invasion of Egypt, would have included me and made my journey a record of polite hostility instead of warm kindness.

It is inevitable that any European should be taken at first sight for a Frenchman, and, at first sight, hated.

It was inevitable as events in Egypt changed from threats to open war that it made it little better to be known as an Englishman.

If one was mistaken for an American all was well.

Germans were better received than English and there was a hopeful note when one was asked if one was a Russian—the wonderful unknown people with whom Islam might be allied without loss of purity.

ANNIVERSARY

But the first uncertain exchange ended in smiles when I spoke of Fenner Brockway and Movement for Colonial Freedom or of The Congress of Peoples Against Imperialism through whom his fight for freedom was better known.

It is a year today (November 18) since the Sultan regained his throne from which the French had deposed him. All Morocco is *en fete* today for a year of liberty has left no regrets—for Moroccans.

By Commander T. Fox-Pitt
Secretary, Anti-Slavery Society

There are contingents of the French army in all big centres of French settlement. "Independence" will not be complete until they go, but if they go, all French settlers will go as well—or so they say.

Recently (after the killing of between 25 and 75 Frenchmen at Meknes on the day when the French kidnapped the five Algerian leaders flying as guests of the Sultan to a peace conference at Tunis) the Moroccan Minister for Agriculture has said that the French must stay on their farms (200 were burned round Meknes during the troubles) because the country had need of the French farmers.

The French have not prepared Morocco for the end of the Protectorate by training and educating Moroccan official cadres and there is, too, a great shortage of technicians and trained men of affairs to allow any to be drawn away from modernised farming.

The Moroccans have done wonders in achieving for a limited number a proficiency that will carry them with reasonable efficiency and a fair chance of success into the future as a civilised prosperous state.

The French loved "le vrai Maroc," of backwardness and acquiescence, of picturesque poverty and starvation wages. (It is the common talk of all imperialists.)

They did not like the vigorous im-

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In Morocco their failure is comparable to the British loss of control in India. Defeat in Algiers will be more like the liberation of Ireland.

The determination of the French to keep Morocco in a condition of dependence has left the majority of the people in conditions from which most of Europe escaped at least a hundred years ago.

POVERTY

The 60-seater-buses that run on the fine tarred military roads stop to put down and take up passengers at hardly discernable donkey tracks that lead away to distant villages built up, like irregular honey-combs, about a tower; giving the appearance of being, what it is in reality, a fortress against the outside world.

High walls without windows for 30 feet above the ground are the outer walls of houses which swarm with people. They live on the produce of an irrigated river bed in the middle of poor pasture of the burnt hill.

On the plains the villages give way to the farm settlements within a wall that forms a cattle compound, and gives the seclusion which seems so important to the rural communities.

But seclusion is being deserted by

● ON PAGE SEVEN

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"Perhaps 'Bevano-Pacifism' would be more accurate as a description," he adds, "as I observe that an advertisement for 'Tribune' appears in your issue of October 12."

It really is most unwise to deduce a newspaper's policy from its advertisements.

An extension of this theory might lead a careful reader of our classified advertisements in the same issue to charge us with "Yugoslav-Natural-Health-Extension-Ladderism."

No prizes are awarded for working out the policy of The Daily Mirror on the same theory.

Latin America

AS I write, Central and South America are not much in the news. But it is good to know that many pacifists are at work in this vast area. I believe they will have an impact on South America far beyond what one would expect from their numbers.

In Mexico City there is a hostel and cultural centre run by Robert, Ingeborg and Diana May Jones. This is a useful port of call for US Quakers and others travelling south on work camp and other projects, particularly the major campaign to end illiteracy.

In Costa Rica (where the President's wife, Señora Figueres, is a pacifist and the War Office taken over for education) there is the pacifist farming township of Monesterde.

In the heart of the South American continent, in Paraguay, there is the Bruderhof to which Peace News goes each week as it does also to readers in British Guiana and Ecuador.

In the Argentine pacifist groups are re-forming now that the repression of the Perón regime is at an end.

Thousands of miles separate these individuals and groups. Peace News is one of the links that keeps them in touch with their fellow workers in the other, more turbulent continents.

Quakers and children

WHEN the Committee on Educational Materials for Children (a sub-committee of the American Friends Service Committee) met recently in Philadelphia, AFSC worker, Eleanor Stabler Clarke, showed a newly completed set of slides "Around the world with the Quaker Star."

The star is the symbol used by the American Friends Service Committee and the British Friends Service Council. It has been seen on Quaker relief lorries in many of the world's trouble spots.

Many of the slides showed the use of gifts contributed by American children: Clothing, gloves, school supplies, and money to house Korean families. Others showed the home and school life of children in a number of different countries.

Dr. Soper on pacifist aims

From CONSTANCE WILLIS

DR. DONALD SOPER addressed on-lookers and the marchers following the peace procession in London on November 25 (reported in PN last week). The brief meeting was held in Manette St., off Charing Cross Rd.

At the beginning of his talk, he said he was very proud to lead the march and walk alongside Kathleen Lonsdale, Sybil Morrison and Stuart Morris.

He said, "I am proud, too, to carry the cross from Mercer Wilson's Church" (St. George the Martyr [Anglican], W.C.1).

The "quite clear propositions" of the group were important in the present bewilderment and lethargy.

"I am quite confident that only the pacifists know the answer to the dilemma and only those who are willing utterly to renounce war are in any condition to prosecute the real aims of peace."

He felt that the march had made an impact on people, and that "we, as pacifists" ought to ardently proclaim and pursue "by every means that are non-violent" a clear vision of pacifist objectives. He then spoke on these objectives and how to achieve them. He said:

OUR OBJECTIVES:—

1 We must at once demand that this Government should obey the just command of the United Nations to withdraw immediately from Egypt.

This is the first requirement to any clearing of the Canal, or any lessening of the hatred we have engendered, and the only way whereby we can begin to repair the damage we have done to our own honour and prestige by the aggressive behaviour of the present Government.

2 Clearly to press for an international police force that is unarmed, because no armed police force can survive as a police force but will degenerate into an army.

We must proclaim our complete belief that only an unarmed police force (with limited powers even of coercion) will be effective.

Only in this way can it be prevented from becoming an instrument of aggression and violence in its turn.

3 We must plead for total disarmament because otherwise we shall

contribute to the hypocrisy of collective security.

We must make it clear that we do not believe there is any method by which collective security could save the people of Hungary from Russian guns.

We are only prepared to intervene when the community we think has transgressed is sufficiently small to be dealt with; in the case of Russia it is wicked nonsense.

HOW TO CARRY THEM OUT:—

I believe in the first place that we have to maintain our freedom of action and to claim from those who are prepared to follow us—workmen, politicians, artisans, parsons—that there is a higher law than the law of the land in which we live, and a supreme justice which must claim our allegiance, even if it means civil disobedience.

If this thing is wrong—and war is morally, ethically and spiritually wrong—then there comes a point at which we must follow our conscience in the interests of our country, and in what we believe to be a higher loyalty which can only be given to the whole world...

In the midst of much disorder; in the midst of many misapprehensions; in the midst of a situation which is changing from day to day... We must proclaim that an unarmed world is the only world which can inherit the Kingdom of God.

We must testify that violence, wherever it is found—in Egypt, or Hungary—is wrong, and point out the futility of armed action.

Now is the time to disarm, and the first country which makes this venture of faith will, in my judgment, lead the world out of the dark place in which it finds itself.

And every day we must make our witness by our words, by our own demeanour and, if need be, by our sacrifice.

World data on military regulations

INFORMATION on military service regulations in all countries will again be available shortly.

In October, 1952, the War Resisters' International (88 Park Avenue, Bush Hill Park, Enfield, Middx.) published "An Analysis No. 1" of information in regard to military service regulations in all the countries of the world where it was available.

This was followed by "An Analysis No. 2" in March, 1953, in which information relating to all countries where some form of legal recognition of conscientious objection was given.

These works have now been brought up-to-date and will appear in The War Resister, No.



Arab men salvage personal belongings from a shattered wreck of a Port Said dwelling.

CHRISTIANS IN INDIA

By Horace Alexander★

A RECENT news item from Delhi gives the news that "a joint Catholic-Protestant committee has been formed to press for the inclusion of a given number of Christian candidates in the lists of the Congress Party."

This is a most depressing piece of news.

India has suffered unspeakable mischief, including the separation of Pakistan, from the absurd idea that religious communities can be safeguarded from persecution by being given guaranteed seats in the legislatures.

Since independence, India has abolished what used to be called "communal representation", on the ground that a man's religious beliefs and affiliations should have no place in his life as a citizen of the State.

That does not mean, of course, that religion and politics have no connection. There is an old saying to the effect that it is part of the duty of a Christian to see that his country is well governed. And presumably the same might be said of a good Hindu or a good Muslim.

members of minority groups is, I believe, wholly fallacious, and even liable to produce the very result that it is intended to avoid.

Policy of courage

IN the days of the India Round Table Conferences in London (1930 and 1931) I was in close touch with two outstanding Indian Christians, K. T. Paul, who died a few months after the first Conference, and Dr. S. K. Datta, who replaced him at the second Conference. At that time nearly all the men who came to London on the invitation of our Government to speak for the religious minorities demanded separate political representation for their communities.

K. T. Paul and Dr. Datta, the latter with especial emphasis, resisted this tendency, being convinced that, in fact, Indian Christians would do much better to rely on the goodwill of their



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The sheath in the foreground in remembrance of conscientious objectors who have paid a heavy price in the struggle to abolish war was placed at the Cenotaph in Portsmouth, England, for Remembrance Day recently, by the Portsmouth Peace Pledge Union group. A similar sheath was placed at the Cenotaph in London by Winifred Greenfield.

LAST LAP

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That does not mean, of course, that religion and politics have no connection. There is an old saying to the effect that it is part of the duty of a Christian to see that his country is well governed. And presumably the same might be said of a good Hindu or a good Muslim.

But it does not follow that a good Christian will always vote for the man who puts the label "Christian" on his coat; it must quite often happen in this country that ardent Christians vote for candidates who call themselves agnostics, or for Jews; Catholics may prefer Protestant candidates sometimes, and Protestants Catholic, and so on.

To suggest that the right way to guarantee toleration is to preserve so many seats for

members of minority groups is, I believe, wholly fallacious, and even liable to produce the very result that it is intended to avoid.

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K. T. Paul and Dr. Datta, the latter with especial emphasis, resisted this tendency, being convinced that, in fact, Indian Christians would do much better to rely on the goodwill of their neighbours and fellow-citizens.

The demand for special safeguards is based on fear. The refusal to accept such a demand is based on courage. In politics the way of courage is nearly always the right way to follow.

Since India achieved her independence, Christians have been appointed Governors of the States of Bombay, West Bengal and Madras.

There has been a Christian member of the Cabinet at Delhi all the time. For a year or more there were two. Many have been elected in their own right, as good citizens who won the votes of their Hindu neighbours.

The policy of courage and trust has brought a fine reward.

Restrictions

THERE are, of course, certain parts of India where the Hindu majority, or at least some of its present leaders, are intolerant; in some areas, Christians are suspect because they are supposed to be in alliance with the West.

Recently, in Madhya Pradesh, a committee has issued a report that not only condemns missionary activity, but also suggests that the whole history of Christianity is a history of aggression.

Although this was a committee of enquiry set up by the State Government, it does not seem to have been taken very seriously by the Indian Government.

There may well be some curtailment of missionary activity; but some Indian Christians would themselves welcome restrictions on the entry of missionaries to India.

Conscientious objection

By Bernard Withers

Recently we published information about the provisions for conscientious objection, supplied by the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors (6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1). This week Bernard Withers, the Secretary of the Board, explains what can happen to the man who does not avail himself of them.

UNDER the National Service Acts, there is no such offence as "refusing to perform military service."

If a man fails to register under the Acts when required to do so, he can be fined a maximum of £5; but the substantial offence is that of refusing to submit to medical examination.

If he fails to attend for examination, he can be fined up to £5, and the Court which convicts him of that offence can then order him to submit to examination.

years' imprisonment. This applies to the former "Z" Reservists.

And this applies to anyone

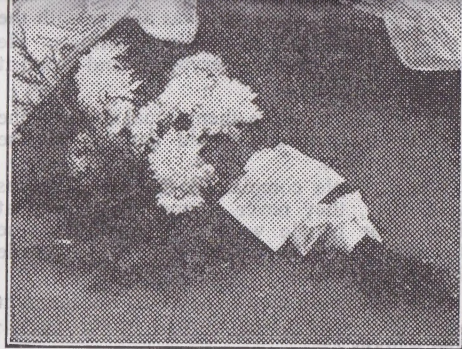
If you persuade, or attempt to persuade, a Reservist to desert, you render yourself liable to six months' imprisonment or a fine of £30, unless he happens to be a sailor, in which case the maximum penalty is merely a fine of £20.

But if you "maliciously and advisedly" endeavour to seduce any member of the Forces from his duty, you are liable to imprisonment for two years or a fine of £200.

British C.O. tribunal rejects objection to particular wars

By MAVIS JAMES

"If you had lived in Germany in 1933



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LAST LAP



I DO not know how many readers will have been amongst those who have listened to the broadcasts from Australia of the various contests in the Olympic Games. Even in some of the events where it appeared that we had a chance of winning medals, the British competitors have not been able to pull it off. In the exciting races much has depended on the last lap and whether the runners could make that extra effort which was needed for success.

The Peace Pledge Union's Headquarters Fund is now in the last lap of the race against time, for we have one month to go and still have to raise £280 to reach our aim and beat the previous record. One month to go and just about twice the average monthly total required. But the last lap is often the fastest as the runner gives all he has got.

Of course, there is no question about our being able to beat the record, nor of any disappointment when we close our books on January 5. But it will require a real effort on the part of every reader of Peace News, and I am asking each of you to give all you possibly can to ensure success. Every little is going to count, but we shall also need some bigger gifts. So, please, pull out that extra and send what you can, whatever the amount may be.

STUART MORRIS,
General Secretary.

Our aim for the year : £1,150
Amount received to date : £870

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union, which are used for the work of the PPU, should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

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If he fails to attend for examination, he can be fined up to £5, and the Court which convicts him of that offence can then order him to submit to examination.

Refusal to submit is punishable by a maximum sentence of 12 months' imprisonment and/or a fine of £50, if the case is brought before a magistrates' court (as it nearly always is); and by two years' imprisonment and/or a fine of £100 if it is brought before a higher court.

A man may be repeatedly prosecuted until he is 26, when he passes out of liability, since a summons to examination at a later date creates the occasion for a new offence.

A man who has applied to a tribunal and has been completely rejected is in exactly the same position as one who has never applied. His name is on the military service register and he is summoned to medical examination in the ordinary way.

Failure to comply with any conditions which a tribunal has attached to his exemption renders a CO liable to the same penalties as are prescribed for refusing to submit to medical examination. He may be prosecuted repeatedly throughout the period of conditional registration.

It should be noted that these are all offences against civil law.

The serviceman

Any Reservist who fails to report for training or when called out in an emergency, commits an offence against military law. He can be tried by court martial for absence without leave and sentenced to a maximum term of two

years' imprisonment. This applies to the former "Z" Reservists.

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"IF you had lived in Germany in 1938, wouldn't you have been right in not supporting their aggression—that is my point—if that was right then, this is right now."

So said David Harris of Carshalton, Surrey, when he appeared before the Fulham Tribunal for Conscientious Objectors on November 16.

He did not condemn all fighting. He objected to present British policy, and therefore objected to fighting with the British Army.

Sir Gerald Hargreaves said that these were "particular war" grounds.

"There is nothing in the Act that can exempt you on your grounds," he stated. "This is all sincere, but we can't do anything about it here. We never have exempted people because they object to a particular war."

David Harris asked, "If I go into the Army, would I be able to say that I would not fight in Cyprus, Kenya, and so on?"

Sir Gerald Hargreaves quoted an instance which occurred during the last war, when an officer refused to move his men, and was subsequently Court-Martialled. "You would have to take the consequences," he said.

Rejecting Harris' application for exemption, the Chairman emphasised that he could not exempt people who object to a use of a particular weapon, or a particular war. "There is no ground at all for exempting him on conscientious grounds," he said.

neighbours and fellow-citizens. The demand for special safeguards is based on fear. The refusal to accept such a demand is based on courage. In politics the way of courage is nearly always the right way to follow.

Since India achieved her independence, Christians have been appointed Governors of the States of Bombay, West Bengal and Madras.

There has been a Christian member of the Cabinet at Delhi all the time. For a year or more there were two. Many have been elected in their own right, as good citizens who won the votes of their Hindu neighbours.

The policy of courage and trust has brought a fine reward.

Restrictions

THERE are, of course, certain parts of India where the Hindu majority, or at least some of its present leaders, are intolerant; in some areas, Christians are suspect because they are supposed to be in alliance with the West.

Recently, in Madhya Pradesh, a committee has issued a report that not only condemns missionary activity, but also suggests that the whole history of Christianity is a history of aggression.

Although this was a committee of enquiry set up by the State Government, it does not seem to have been taken very seriously by the Indian Government.

There may well be some curtailment of missionary activity; but some Indian Christians would themselves welcome restrictions on the entry of missionaries to India.

A challenge

IT would seem that some misguided Indian Christians have taken fright, and have thought they should look to special safeguards for their security. But they would surely do better to banish their fears.

Let them boldly take their part in the political life of their country, whether in the Congress Party or the Socialist Party, or wherever their convictions may take them.

Let them prove to their fellow-citizens that they are good citizens, working for the well-being of the people as a whole, not only for some sectional well-being. Many Indian Christians are in fact doing these very things.

It is by their lives of service that their intolerant neighbours will be shamed into tolerance.

There is, I believe, no other way.

★ Closely associated with Mahatma Gandhi and a personal friend of Premier Nehru. He supervised the work of British and American Friends in India and Pakistan from the Quaker Centre at Delhi and took an active part in launching in 1949 the Fellowship of Friends of Truth, an inter-religious fellowship.

He is the author of NEW CITIZENS OF INDIA (1953), a book dealing mainly with the resettlement of the five million refugees from West Pakistan.

BOOKS

The progress of modern intellectual man

R. H. Ward reviews

Aldous Huxley, by John Atkins. London, Calder, 18s.

THIS is a very good book and deserves to be widely read. Mr. Atkins has analysed, and at some points illuminated by interpretative insights, the progressive advance through the contemporary wilderness of one of the most interesting and influential of contemporary minds.

I say "minds", rather than "men", because Huxley is still primarily, and still on occasion to the detriment of his work, what is called (in the post-Shelleyan sense) "an intellectual", and because Mr. Atkins's book makes it plain that an individual in whom the mind so far outruns the emotions and the body, cannot be a balanced individual, or the ideally "integrated" human being.

Huxley has suffered from a psychological disability far more difficult to overcome than his physiological disability of poor eyesight.

But if the psychological equilibrium has never quite been achieved, his creative life has been a continuous struggle for it, and this too is made plain by Mr. Atkins's sympathetic consideration of Huxley's development from the astonishingly "brilliant" young novelist and essayist who dazzled and shocked us in the 'twenties (but left all but our minds unsatisfied) to the highly responsible writer whose later books appeal perhaps to fewer people, but certainly to their deeper natures.

Part of Huxley's greatness lies in the fact that he has never been content as a writer to find a profitable and acceptable "line" and pursue it through a series of books, each one of which repeated the others; his work is an organic growth; what he writes today makes us ask, What will he write tomorrow?

It is true that he retains certain attitudes which appear to have been left out of the process of growth, and have even tended to atrophy: his disgusted revulsion from "the flesh", for instance, which involves the exclusion of one aspect of human life, and thus distorts his mystical understanding, since mystical understanding is inclusive, nothing, whether human or divine, being alien to it.

But if this contempt for the lowest in man persists as a reminder of the old intellectual bias, it is none the less remarkable that the brittle and somewhat cynical "knowingness"

of (say) CROME YELLOW should have been succeeded by the compassionate insights of (say) EYELESS IN GAZA.

Meanwhile, Huxley's most real achievement as a writer lies, so to say, in his readers.

There are many among them whom he has taken with him in his progress towards understanding; towards the point, that is, at which, if contemporary man's concentration upon the outward life of action, of technological advance and the so-called "benefits of science" has begun to show itself as both absurd and disastrous, only one hope (which also involves faith and charity) remains: the complementary development of the inward life of contemplation, of psychological advance and the unitive responsibility of personal religion.

Mr. Atkins's study becomes, then, a study of the progress of the intelligent modern man.

For that reason alone it would be valuable, but it is the more valuable in its implications for the future: we are not irredeemable, and we need not despair, for although our exploration of the outward world may have led us to disillusionment, we have as yet scarcely begun to explore the inward world of our own psychology and the reality of our relationship to God which is to be found there.

THIS IS WAR BUSINESS

Robert Greacen reviews

The Choice, by Guy Enock. Marshall, Morgan and Scott, 12s. 6d.

GUY ENOCK was the author of that memorable volume, THIS WAR BUSINESS, which showed in detail how the armaments industry has become the largest and most octopus-like of all business enterprises.

Now Mr. Enock continues the good work in THE CHOICE, in which his scientific mind (he is a mechanical engineer) marshals the facts relating to war preparations throughout the world.

The subtitle of the book, "Christendom in Fetters or Exercise, Ploughshare?" will indi-



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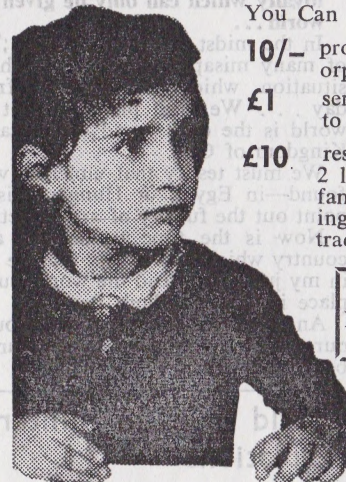
Let each one of us who can look forward to enough food and warmth this winter and perhaps to a family Christmas, do something for one of those who have none of these things... children and babies (and old people, too) who are in stark need in Europe, in dismal shacks in Korea, on the exposed roof-tops of Hong Kong, and in drab refugee camps in many other countries—victims of war or persecution through no fault of their own. Please do befriend one of them—send a gift now.

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(Reg'd War Charities Act 1940)

SUPPORTERS INCLUDE: Mr. Laurence Housman, Dame Sybil Thorndike, Miss Vera Brittain, Rev. George F. MacLeod (Iona Community)

A child's life of Gandhi

The Harijan fund

Last week we read how Gandhi used to teach the children of the Ashram, many of whom would accompany him on his walks.

But Gandhi never gave up hoping for an India in which nobody would be hungry or without clothes. Just as men will work and slave to get rich, so Gandhi worked and slaved to make others happy.

DEATH IN THE AUTUMN

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*All was confusion; then One called on me
To tell Him straightly and unerringly
What people I belonged to, who had died—*

*Dimly, in shifting shadow, I descried
A street in Budapest, and lying there,
While guns still stuttered on the autumn air,
My body; and "Hungarian," I said.
But as I spoke the wavering shadows fled
This way and that, and infinite desert sand,
Sown with the dead, stretched out on either
hand;*

*"A Jew," I said. But Sinai was gone;
Instead there blazed by heaps of pitted stone
A tank abandoned in a city square;
"Russian," I said, whose body smouldered
there.*

*And now the square was smoking in Port
Said;
Other the wounds, the skin of him who died
Dark, yet still mine; "Egyptian, then," I
cried.*

*A blue night-sky was full of glittering fire,
A plane fled down in flames, and I its flier;
And, "French," I said, whom Egypt's gunfire
killed.*

*But all at once the morning sky was filled
With parachutes descending; then I saw
A great canal to eastward, and the war
Rose up to meet me, struck without a sound,
And I was dead before I touched the ground;
"British," I said—*

*But He who questioned me
Sternly repeated, "Answer truthfully."
Then I saw plain, as only dead men can—
"Forgive me, Lord," I cried, "for I am
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R. H. WARD.

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Unlike most peace workers, he is equipped by training and long experience of applied scientific method, to write on the technical aspects of weapon research.

He therefore examines in detail a great many weapons, some of them diabolical in their effects on the human body.

Yet Mr. Enock obviously takes no pleasure in heaping horror upon horror, although he does not flinch from revealing just what another all-out war might mean in terms of death, mutilation and destruction.

He asks whether it is not the duty—indeed the urgent duty—of the Christian Church to do something about halting the race to the abyss.

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IF he had wished it, Gandhi could have been a rich man, living a life of luxury, for he was very successful as a lawyer.

It was his love for the poor that made him turn instead to a life of simplicity and continued toil. He felt that he could not rest until every Indian had enough to eat and the chance to go to school.

He wanted to see no more very rich or very poor people, but each man, woman and child with enough for his needs.

He knew well that there was nothing harder

AS TOLD BY GERTRUDE MURRAY TO
THE CHILDREN OF INDIA

in the world than to make this dream come true. Rich people cannot bear to give up what they have.

The richer they are, the more they want. There are many rich people who fall ill from over-eating and laziness, and yet they would not like to give away even a piece of bread to those who are starving.

But Gandhi never gave up hoping for an India in which nobody would be hungry or without clothes. Just as men will work and slave to get rich, so Gandhi worked and slaved to make others happy.

HIS great sympathy was always with the poor Harijans (Untouchables). He used to collect money everywhere and spend it on educating them.

He wanted to make them equal to everyone else, so that nobody would dare to despise them any more.

When people complained that the Harijans were dirty, they never stopped to think that these poor people were not allowed to use the wells used by others and so had little chance to be clean.

And how could they be anything but ignorant when they were never allowed inside the village schools?

By opening schools where Harijans could learn all that others learn, Gandhi soon proved that they could be just as clever as other people.

Much money was needed for this great work, though. The poor Harijans had nothing but their rags. Everything had to be provided for them.

Gandhi was never ashamed to beg for his dear Harijans, and he would ask for money so sweetly and persuasively that it was impossible to say "No" to him.

THE rich would often give him thousands of rupees at a time. The poor gave whatever copper coins they could spare. He took all, provided it came from a good heart.

If anything was given to him for himself, he generally gave it away soon after to some person in need. But he never lost a chance of collecting money for the poor.

Sometimes thousands of people attended his prayer meetings, and then he would take the opportunity to beg them for funds.

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THEATRE WAR IS NO SOLUTION

By Ronald Mallone

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It's "only dogma" is that "war is no solu-

"separating combatants" and "fascist counter-revolution" are amusingly dramatised and fairly discussed.

Though US expenditure of up to one hundred million dollars on methods of liberation which may include terror is quoted, shame is strongly expressed at the Soviet's killings in Hungary.

"No one has the right to impose government by armed force." We hear too of three French Communists beaten to death by an

1956

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To tell Him straightly and unerringly
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It's "only dogma" is that "war is no solution to the world's problems".

"The art of Brinkmanship" and "Stock Exchange Rock" are wittily written:—

"We're going to rock around those stocks and shares,

"We're going to take UNO unawares."

—and follow the sight of Communists and Tories resigning from their Parties, and a realisation of the stalemate when East and West hold H-bombs.

A long waiting list for hospital beds, the allocation for which has been cut by £500,000 by the Government, is contrasted with £1,500,000,000 expended on armaments.

We see refugees in Budapest and Port Said; and the editor of this "Living Newspaper" says, "I think we're all mad. None of us want war, yet we allow it. The world is on the edge. It wants one push and that's that."

The explanations of "police action",

been a rich man, living a life of luxury, for he was very successful as a lawyer.

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Sometimes thousands of people attended his prayer meetings, and then he would take the opportunity to beg them for funds.

When he spoke in this way people felt their hearts melting. His simple words and poor dress made their own luxury seem mere foolishness.

Grandly dressed ladies would pull off their gold bangles and diamond rings and pour them into his hands.

That was a wonderful sight to see. Gandhi in his peasant's loin cloth, and the rich people in their splendid clothes, standing before him like subjects before their king.

Next week: The Necklace

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Colonial freedom in Morocco

● FROM PAGE TWO

thousands for the packed promiscuity of the *bidon villes*, the shanty-towns of the industrial cities of Casablanca, Agadir, and Rabat.

The new Government is throwing all the weight it can on the side of rural prosperity. Land is being shared out from the great estates that were held as one of the perquisites of office that bound the Arab "notables" in the service of the French.

HEALTH

Co-operatives are being organised to stop the wasteful marketing methods that took every peasant with a donkey load of produce to sit for hours of bargaining in the towns.

Tractors are replacing the primitive ploughs that tore through the thin top soil to the depth of a few inches.

Agricultural demonstrators are being trained for the few who see in rural progress a matter worthy of consideration of an educated man.

If rural poverty strikes one strongly the urban misery is even greater.

Trachoma blinds up to 25 per cent of the population in some towns, and begging is the only resource of the blind; children scratch in the rubbish heaps with the cats and chickens.

The health service must surely go ahead faster under the new Government than under the Protectorate. I feel that one could rightly make the incidence of blindness in Morocco the test of colonial self-government, but this would be a one-sided approach. It is a symptom of poverty and not its cause.

The cause was a lack of will under the French Protectorate to tackle these problems and the existence of a new will is now plain for all to see in the Istiqlal Party that holds a majority of the Ministerial posts in the Sultan's Government.

HOSTILITY

The Istiqlal Party Secretary is President of the new Consultative Assembly, which is the first step towards a democratic constitution.

It may seem to us, with the demands for full adult franchise coming from African colonies that the Morroccans are easily satisfied by a Government of Ministers appointed by the Sultan and an Assembly with no legislative powers.

There is great love and reverence for the Sultan whose picture is in every room of every house, and complete confidence that any Government of his will be conducted for the

good of his people and in accordance with sound religious principles.

He hinted in his inaugural address for the Assembly that democracy would grow and his own position become that of a constitutional monarch. Meanwhile his only possible critics are within the Istiqlal Party, which is the policy forming influence in the Government.

Everyone seems quite satisfied except the defeated PDI party and they were never radical.

I write from Goulmine on the edge of the Southern desert and the supposed base of the Army of Liberation which helps to keep the French forces engaged in South Western Algiers and in the Mauretanian Province of French West Africa. It is from here that Morocco supports the Arabs of Mauretania who want to throw off French rule and the Arabs of Ifni and Rio del Oro who want to be free of Spain.

It is a country closed to the French and hostile to all Europeans. Here people pass one with a cold stare of hatred. Here when I asked by name for the Istiqlal Secretary I was cross-questioned about my right to deal with Istiqlal and taken to a military office and told that they wished to have no dealings with me.

FRIENDSHIP

When I met the Secretary later, he was full of cordial interest in the Movement for Colonial Freedom and appreciation of the fact that never had there been so strong an opposition to war as there was to Eden's invasion of Egypt.

This is a place that every Frenchman told me that I should never reach and to myself I made it a test of Morocco's peacefulness that I should come here.

It was said that the mountaineers who lived between Tiznit and Goulmine had no regard for the Government but when I was pulled out of the bus to give cause why I should pass through their country it was the Government permit which passed me through, against the angry clamours of the crowd. It was Fenner Brockway's letter which got me the Governmental pass.

My position here that was so strained and difficult has changed and since the calls of Istiqlal members I am on terms of friendly "Bon Jou" and "Ca va, Muson" in odd Moroccan French which is almost as odd as my own.

My advice to travellers in colonial and ex-colonial countries is to go provided with a lively optimism and a letter from Fenner Brockway. Then all goes well.

Letters to the Editor

December 7, 1956—PEACE NEWS—5

Catholic pacifists

IF I read Roy Woolstenholme's letter aright, the "voice of authentic Catholicism" would seem to be drawing a distinction between war which destroys some of us and that which will annihilate all of us; between evil which (man considers!) can be controlled and "such an extension of evil that it escapes human control!"

This may be the voice of the Church but it is not the voice of Jesus, who said: "Let your communication be yea, yea; Nay, nay; for whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil."

And that evil is sophistry.

HERMIA RENYARDE.

96 Clare Rd.,

Tankerton-on-Sea, Kent.

WITH reference to Roy Wolstenholme's letter I should like to point out that in reporting the Spode House Conference, I quoted the view maintained there that modern warfare in general might be condemned consistently with the traditional Catholic teaching on the "just war" on the ground of its not fulfilling the conditions of a just war.

Charles Thompson, at the conference, quoted the views of those holding a defensive war to be still justifiable, not because he agreed with them but in order to show that even the non-pacifist theologian thinks war unjustifiable today in many contexts in which it was formerly condoned.

Personally, I think the description "purely defensive modern war" to be a contradiction in terms. Indeed, throughout the history of warfare attack has always been the surest means of defence from a tactical point of view.

Two of the traditional conditions of a war's justice are: (a) that it should have a reasonable chance of success and thus not be a fruitless waste of life; (b) that it should employ just means.

And it seems clear to me that in any war situation past or present no side can have had or have a reasonable chance of success unless it is at least prepared to use any means which may prove necessary.

To my mind, therefore, the traditional conditions of a war being just themselves condemn warfare in general. But I am not a theologian!

In reporting the Spode House Conference I was giving the substance of the lectures and not my own opinions.

R. DOROTHEA GASCOIGNE.

116 Longlands Road North,
Carlisle.

Golden medals and admiration

THERE was a time in British history, when we changed from a nation of robber-barons and feudal lords (who had their own

armies and did pretty well what they liked), to one ruled by a common law enforced by courts and law officers.

In the course of time, our nobility became quite respectable and respected.

Internationally, we are going through a similar period of political evolution and are forced by world opinion to abandon our imperialistic adventures.

Whilst some people, with a boyish mind, like to hear the British lion roar on the battlefield, sensible people would prefer to hear its triumphant roar on the sports-field.

If we would spend only a tenth part of £1,600 millions per annum on training athletes instead of soldiers, we would gain not only plenty of golden medals, but also the admiration of the world instead of its condemnation.

GEORGE RULF.

64 Clifton Rd., Newcastle-on-Tyne, 4.

Education reform

AS the ultimate abolition of war rests with future generations, what is wanted is not so much a police force to control national mistrust, fear and aggrandisement, but a United Nations Education Reform Organisation to root out vain-glorious nationalism—that breeding ground for aggressive militarism—from the textbooks of all nations.

Today, humanity is paying for the appalling deviation from the philosophy of brotherhood by previous generations. What is to be the verdict of posterity on our actions?

W. WALKER.

11 Holyoake Gdns.,

Gateshead, 9, Co. Durham.

Remember the animals

CIRCUS time is drawing near and Doris Canter's recommendation of "See the Circus" (Book Reviews, November 23) prompts me to remind pacifists of the vicious cruelty involved in the breaking and so-called training of circus animals.

Pacifists have a duty, not simply to be "agin" everything but to stand for what is gracious and noble; those things that are of value and creative and appeal to our better instincts. Pacifists should, therefore, avoid circuses and music halls where performing animal turns are included and patronize worthier forms of entertainment.

AVERIL VERDEN.

Tall Trees School,

Highview, Pinner, Middlesex.

Finland has joined the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation. Unesco now has 77 Member States.

Under a new Norwegian law, conscientious objectors will have their case tried by civil courts and not as hitherto by military courts.

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CHRISTMAS CARDS

population in some towns, and begging is the only resource of the blind; children scratch in the rubbish heaps with the cats and chickens.

The health service must surely go ahead faster under the new Government than under the Protectorate. I feel that one could rightly make the incidence of blindness in Morocco the test of colonial self-government, but this would be a one-sided approach. It is a symptom of poverty and not its cause.

The cause was a lack of will under the French Protectorate to tackle these problems and the existence of a new will is now plain for all to see in the Istiqlal Party that holds a majority of the Ministerial posts in the Sultan's Government.

HOSTILITY

The Istiqlal Party Secretary is President of the new Consultative Assembly, which is the first step towards a democratic constitution.

It may seem to us, with the demands for full adult franchise coming from African colonies that the Morroccans are easily satisfied by a Government of Ministers appointed by the Sultan and an Assembly with no legislative powers.

There is great love and reverence for the Sultan whose picture is in every room of every house, and complete confidence that any Government of his will be conducted for the

FRIENDSHIP

When I met the Secretary later, he was full of cordial interest in the Movement for Colonial Freedom and appreciation of the fact that never had there been so strong an opposition to war as there was to Eden's invasion of Egypt.

This is a place that every Frenchman told me that I should never reach and to myself I made it a test of Morocco's peacefulness that I should come here.

It was said that the mountaineers who lived between Tiznit and Goulemin had no regard for the Government but when I was pulled out of the bus to give cause why I should pass through their country it was the Government permit which passed me through, against the angry clamours of the crowd. It was Fenner Brockway's letter which got me the Governmental pass.

My position here that was so strained and difficult has changed, and since the calls of Istiqlal members I am on terms of friendly "Bon Jou" and "Ca va, Muson" in odd Moroccan French which is almost as odd as my own.

My advice to travellers in colonial and ex-colonial countries is to go provided with a lively optimism and a letter from Fenner Brockway. Then all goes well.

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Sunday, December 9

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Monday, December 10

SOUTHAMPTON: 7.30 p.m.; Temperance Institute, Carlton Crescent, Mrs. L. P. Pentz,

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TERMS: Cash with order, 3d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 6d. extra). Please don't send stamps in payment, except for odd pence. Maximum length 60 words. Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

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PLEASE NOTE: Advertisements for the issue of December 28 must be received not later than Friday, December 21.

Whilst the policy of Peace News is not to restrict any concern or individual from advertising in these columns, it must be noted that we do not necessarily share the views nor the opinions of all our advertisers.

MEETINGS

CHRISTMAS PEACE PARTY, Dec. 22-23

PERSONAL

THE BAPTIST PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP invites your support. For details of membership write: Rev. Leslie Worsnip, 63 Loughborough Rd., Quorn, Leicestershire.

CHRISTMAS CAKES. Two orders for iced Christmas cakes (approx. 6½ lbs.) accepted, 25s. each. Profits to H.Q. funds, Wells, 197 Park Lane, N.17.

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READING BIBLE THRO' IN YEAR—an absorbing serial—20 min. daily. Tables post

mistrust, fear and aggression, but a United Nations Education Reform Organisation to root out vain-glorious nationalism—that breeding ground for aggressive militarism—from the textbooks of all nations.

Today, humanity is paying for the appalling deviation from the philosophy of brotherhood by previous generations. What is to be the verdict of posterity on our actions?

W. WALKER.

11 Holyoake Gdns.,

Gateshead, 9, Co. Durham.

Remember the animals

CIRCUS time is drawing near and Doris Canter's recommendation of "See the Circus" (Book Reviews, November 23) prompts me to remind pacifists of the vicious cruelty involved in the breaking and so-called training of circus animals.

Pacifists have a duty, not simply to be "agin" everything but to stand for what is gracious and noble; those things that are of value and creative and appeal to our better instincts. Pacifists should, therefore, avoid circuses and music halls where performing animal turns are included and patronize worthier forms of entertainment.

AVERIL VERDEN.

Tall Trees School,

Highview, Pinner, Middlesex.

Finland has joined the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation. Unesco now has 77 Member States.

Under a new Norwegian law, conscientious objectors will have their case tried by civil courts and not as hitherto by military courts.

Come to Moscow for the

WORLD YOUTH FESTIVAL

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The young people of Russia are preparing the welcome of a life-time for YOU and thousands like you from all over the world who will be thronging to this spectacular event.

Free and open discussion with the youth of the world.

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Saturday, December 8

HASTINGS: 5.45 p.m.; Tinkers Dell, Crowhurst Lane, Battle. Christmas Party. Guest speaker: Stuart Morris; Guest artist: Vernon Symonds. Peace Pledge Union.

LONDON, W.11: 3 p.m.; 19 Pembridge Villas, Notting Hill. Christmas Food Fair, Film Show and Workcampers' Reunion. IVSP.

PRESTON: 3 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., St. George's Rd., N.W. Area mtg. 6 p.m.; Public mtg. Fred Barton. Chair, Bernard Rushton. Peace Pledge Union.

Every week!

SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

LONDON: Weekend Workcamps, cleaning and redecorating the homes of old-age pensioners. IVSP, 19 Pembridge Villas, W.11.

SUNDAYS

HYDE PARK: 4 p.m.; Pacifist Youth Action Group. Every Sunday. PYAG.

MONDAYS

SHIPLEY: 7.15 p.m.; Shipley Group in new premises in Labour Party Rooms, West-gate, Shipley.

TUESDAYS

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m.; Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian pacifist open-air mtg. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPF.

WEDNESDAYS

KIDBROOKE: 8 p.m.; 141 Woolacombe Rd. Discussion, music, radio, etc.

THURSDAYS

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Road. E.10 and E.11 Group. PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 1.15-1.45 p.m.; Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen St. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by Clergy and laymen of different denominations.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

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Tuesday, December 11

SWANSEA: 7.30 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Stuart Morris, "The Middle East Crisis." Swansea Peace Council.

Wednesday, December 12

BIRMINGHAM: 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 36 Holloway Head. Ron Keating, "The Pacifist and the Labour Party." West Midlands Area, Peace Pledge Union.

HULL: 7.30 p.m.; Room No. 1, 66 Wright St. "Propaganda and Publicity." All welcome. Fellowship Party.

KIDBROOKE: 8.30 p.m.; 141 Woolacombe Rd., Play, "On the Spot." Fellowship Party.

Thursday, December 13

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. W.C.1: Peter Kuenstler: "Partnership in Africa." Pacifist Youth Action Group.

WOOLWICH: 7.45 p.m.; Progress Hall, Seymour Rd. Nr. Eltham Wellhall Stn. "The Challenge of Hungary and Egypt." Ronald Mallone, BA (Fellowship Party), Bill Gander (ILP) Chair.; Jack Stevens (SoF). ILP and Fellowship Party.

Friday, December 14

MANCHESTER: 7.30 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Mount St. (Nr. Central Library). Dr. Hugh J. Schonfield, "Commonwealth of World Citizens." Commonwealth of World Citizens (N.W. Group).

Saturday, December 15

MANCHESTER: Poster parade. Starting Friends Mtg. Ho., Mount St., 2.30 p.m. All pacifists welcome. Offers of help to L. Cowan, 59 Cecil Road, Altrincham. PPU.

Wednesday, December 19

KIDBROOKE: 8.30 p.m.; 141 Woolacombe Rd., Play, "Trio for Two." Fellowship Party.

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LITERATURE

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., London.

BRITAIN AND USSR—WHAT NOW? Lord Chorley, Fenner Brockway, MP, Mrs. Mabel Ridealgh, Cedric Belfrage, Douglas Goldring, Dean of Canterbury, C. F. Dutch, Wolf Mankowitz, Rev. Donald Soper, Lord Russell of Liverpool, in the December No. of "BRITISH-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP", 6d. post free from 36 Spencer St., London, E.C.1.

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IF A PEACEFUL AGE IS AHEAD, THE POWER DISEASE AND WAR MUST BE ELIMINATED

Twilight or dawn?

By J. T. MURPHY

WHEN in the first week of November, Sir Anthony Eden double-crossed the United Nations, and, with France unleashed war against a victim of aggression, namely, an almost defenceless Egypt. I felt I could not stand aside from any effort the people of Britain may take to bring down the Eden Government.

Therefore, after years of political detachment and public inactivity, I rejoined the Labour Party.

I did this because it is the greatest organised opposition to the Government capable of quickly bringing about its resignation and replacing it with one which could, in some measure, restore our moral prestige in the eyes of the nations of the world.

This one cannot.

When the Soviet Government invaded Hungary "at the request" of the Hungarian Government and proceeded to smash, with overwhelming military might, an uprising of the mass of the people crying aloud for national freedom, I did what I have never done before since the Russian Revolution began in 1917.

I went to my trade union branch (AEU) and moved a resolution of protest directed against the Soviet Government, denouncing the military invasion of Hungary, demanding the withdrawal of the Red Army and supporting Hungary's claim for national independence.

But that is not all. From the year 1916 until 1953 I was a convinced Marxist. From 1920 when I met Lenin in Leningrad and attended what was really the foundation Congress of the Communist International, I was a convinced Leninist.

Leninism is a development of Marxism in more militaristic terms.

Communist

From 1921 to 1932 I was a leading member of the British Communist Party. During those years, several of which I spent in Russia, I was also a leader of the Communist International and its kindred organisations.

When I resigned from the ranks of Communism at the introduction of "Stalinist" methods into the leadership of the British Party, it was not because I had ceased to be a Marxist or Leninist in principle. It may have been conceit on my part, but I regarded myself (on the issues upon which I quarrelled with my colleagues in the leadership of the Party) as a much more consistent exponent of Marxism than they.

Whether I was so doesn't really matter, except that it meant I became inhibited from

Arab territory a colony named Palestine.

After the second world war, a piece of this became the State of Israel, with the approval of the United Nations including all the big powers, Russia being no exception.

Egypt has refused to recognise the new State from its inception. In the last year or so the Western powers have turned the "pocket State" Israel into an arsenal in the name of the preservation of peace and independence.

In the last twelve months Russia has supplied arms to Egypt, who was virtually without arms, also for "the preservation of peace and Egyptian independence."

"Stalinists" all

It happened, immediately after Egypt had nationalised the Suez Canal, that Israel's "patience was stretched to the limit of endurance."

The limit was reached just at the time that the Suez Canal Company supporters, namely the British and French Governments, were angered "beyond endurance" because ships continued to pass through the Suez Canal as freely and as efficiently after the Egyptian's had nationalised the Canal as before that event.

Israel conveniently launched an offensive "preventive war" on Egypt, on the principle that he who gets his blow in first before the enemy is ready to strike, stands the best chance of winning. The timing was excellent.

When the Israelis reached within fifteen miles of the Suez Canal, the British and the French crashed in to "stop the fighting," posing as self-appointed policemen "with teeth," and destroying the forces of the victims of "aggression" leaving the "aggressor" unscathed.

In the process they blocked the Canal.

When the reformed Stalinists of the East treated Hungary as Britain and France had treated Egypt in order to "prevent counter-revolution" there was nothing left to distinguish the "Stalinists" of one country from another, no matter which side of the Iron Curtain they were or what their political and social systems.

Bulgarian warned the West that Russia can bombard them with rockets. Gruenther, the spokesman of the North Atlantic Alliance, warned Bulgarian that they could retaliate in

HYPOTHETICAL DILEMMAS

Pacifists are often challenged with questions such as "if someone attacked your mother..." We usually pass them off as hypothetical questions that do not merit serious attention. A friend recently said to me "do you mean to say if you could save the lives of 100 children by shooting down a plane you would refuse to do so?" We cannot and must not give glib answers to such questions.

—Letter to the Editor of Peace News from D.V.L., November, 1956.

IT is true perhaps that pacifists are asked more hypothetical questions than any other body of people, but it is not true, I think, that the questions are passed over as not meriting serious attention.*

The large number of hypothetical questions addressed to pacifists is due to the fact that in the last resort the reliance upon muscular strength rather than upon argument, upon some kind of force rather than upon reason, upon military weapons rather than upon negotiation, is commonly accepted by almost all the peoples of the world, and that any moral stand against it, immediately rouses fear, and a corresponding resistance to the idea.

The fact that the use of force only settles who is the strongest and may, in the particular example, fail to save "your mother" from the hypothetical attack is seldom considered.

★

Even less consideration is given to the fact that the evil of this attack upon "your mother" must have some motive power behind it, which could be, and indeed should be, dealt with in a different way.

In individual cases the circumstances would always be different and the causes dissimilar, but obviously violence cannot be the final solution; for instance, if the attacker should be victorious he will continue to rely upon his brute strength, and the helpless victim will not be saved, nor some other victim of a future occasion.

It would be a natural instinct with the majority to try to stand between a helpless person and an attacker; it might also be a natural and uncontrollable instinct if assailed with fear, or with anger, to strike back at the attacker, but even so, and whatever the result, this situation is not to be, indeed cannot be, equated with war in which anger and fear are stimulated by propaganda and are not instinctive.

The question, however, of saving 100 children by shooting down one aeroplane with its crew, can be equated only with war, and with nothing else. It is not glibly evading the question to assert, categorically, that such a choice is outside the region of any imaginable possibility other than war.

The question itself is, in any case, impossibly precise, for there can never be any certainty that the use of violence will ensure

the safety of the person or persons attacked. An aeroplane shot down, as those who experienced bombing in the last war know too well, may explode all its bombs with more devastation than if they had been dropped.

The argument for slaughtering thousands in order to save millions is only advanced in war; it was the excuse used for dropping the atom bomb; it was the excuse used for "obliteration bombing" of German cities; it was the excuse used for burning alive the inhabitants of Korea with napalm; and now it is the British Government's excuse for attacking and invading Egypt.

★

No excuses about saving the Middle East from Russian domination can give back life to those now dead in Suez, restore the sight of those blinded, or the limbs of those crippled, or the happiness of those bereaved.

Decisions of this kind are not made upon moral grounds but upon grounds of expediency, and with the object of securing victory in war. But, for those to whom the sanctity of human life is a reality these decisions are morally indefensible; every life is of equal value and one cannot be set against another.

The consequences, morally and physically, of Government's choosing war as a method for attempting to settle disputes have proved to be incalculable and appalling; but the choice is taken corporately within the context of war.

Single men or women are never called upon to balance one set of lives against another set of lives; if there were no bombing aeroplanes there would be no endangered 100 children, and the question, which in that respect is far from hypothetical, would not arise.

Only when war has been renounced will mankind escape from the dilemma of taking a gamble on which of the human race, and how many, are to be slaughtered.

*See Pamphlet No. III. "Rescuing the Weak" in the Peace Pledge Union "YOUR QUESTIONS ANSWERED" series. (Free, from Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.)

Aid to Egypt

★ FROM PAGE ONE

Mr. Dodds-Parker again refused to admit liability and said that the Government considered any *ex gratia* payment a matter for

From 1921 to 1931 I was a leading member of the British Communist Party. During those years, several of which I spent in Russia, I was also a leader of the Communist International and its kindred organisations.

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Whether I was so doesn't really matter, except that it meant I became inhibited from questioning the validity of the basic principles of Marxism and Leninism.

Hence my subsequent criticisms of Stalin and the regime he dominated were always tempered with sympathy for the Soviet Union and its problems, a deep appreciation of its mighty achievements, and always from the Marxist or Leninist point of view.

All this can be confirmed by reference to my books, the last of which was a biography of STALIN, written during the war and published in 1944.

Shortly after the end of the war, I became more and more distressed at what I regarded as violent distortions of Leninism by the Stalinists.

But I got no satisfaction when I turned away from them to gaze on the Western scene.

It appeared to me, especially after Churchill's Fulton speech, that both sides of the "Iron Curtain" were as much alike as peas out of one pod and that the terms "Democracy" and "Peace" had entered into the coinage of "double-talk" of politicians, statesmen, and diplomats alike.

Re-thinking

In Russia it was all glorified in the "Stalin Cult." In Britain the same thing came under the "Churchill Cult." In America we have it as the "Ike Cult."

Everywhere it appeared to me that the voice of Jacob diverted attention from the hands of Esau and "Peace on Earth, Goodwill towards Men" had become the halo surrounding the Hydrogen bomb before it falls to transmute universal life into universal death.

I withdrew from all political activity and identity with any movement, feeling there was something fundamentally wrong somewhere, maybe in my own mode of thinking and understanding of life and the course of history.

I took Voltaire's advice literally and began to "cultivate my garden," and critically examine and reflect on the way I had come.

The outcome of a couple of years or more of intensive study of Marxism, Leninism, the Russian Revolution and world affairs, etc., was that I ceased to be either Marxist or Leninist.

I now regarded these respective "isms" as a mixture of mythology and over simplified theories of history, harnessed to a militaristic party of social conquest for the

French crashed in to "stop the fighting," posing as self-appointed policemen "with teeth," and destroying the forces of the victims of "aggression" leaving the "aggressor" unscathed.

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Bulgarian warned the West that Russia can bombard them with rockets. Gruenther, the spokesman of the North Atlantic Alliance, warned Bulgarian that they could retaliate in kind and reduce Russia to ashes.

Add to these facts that Britain, France and Israel have demonstrated to the world the advantages to be gained in getting in first before the referee blows the whistle.

Power disease

All the Great Powers regard international Charters of liberty, Commonwealth bonds of friendship and co-operation, and treaties of alliance, as of no account in times of self-interest by ignoring them and lying to the people.

It now appeared abundantly clear to me that whatever the political complexion of all these States, they suffered from the power disease inherent in every institution created by man as it grows from small beginnings to ever larger dimensions.

With growth comes centralisation of authority, which carries with it the vesting of social power in the hands of an oligarchy demanding obedience to its authority.

This is especially so in all war institutions created by States.

It is an obvious feature in the growth of the State, political parties, the Church, trade unions, industrial organisations, Press and publicity institutions, etc.

The current language of the leaders of all these institutions is war language, even when they talk peace. They talk "strategy" "alliance" "the enemy" "defence" "security" "mobilisation" "ideological warfare" "military pacts" "security purges" "brain washing," etc.

All questions of social welfare and well-being are conditioned either by the wars of yesterday or preparations for the war of tomorrow.

Abolish war

A remarkable and utterly demoralising scene spreads across the world. The Eden Government and its supporters along with Mollet of France and his supporters, wash their hands in the tears of the people of Hungary while Bulganin and Khrushchov wash theirs in the Suez Canal and treat Hungary as a colonial preserve.

The United Nations "Security Council" and the Governments of Russia and China, stand guard with watchful military eyes over the demarcation lines of the dismembered nations of Korea and Vietnam.

instinct it assailed with fear, or with anger, to strike back at the attacker, but even so, and whatever the result, this situation is not to be, indeed cannot be, equated with war in which anger and fear are stimulated by propaganda and are not instinctive.

The question, however, of saving 100 children by shooting down one aeroplane with its crew, can be equated only with war, and with nothing else. It is not glibly evading the question to assert, categorically, that such a choice is outside the region of any imaginable possibility other than war.

The question itself is, in any case, impossibly precise, for there can never be any certainty that the use of violence will ensure

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valuable ally for the Soviets in any enterprise—military or ideological—against the Turks who, on account of their membership of the Baghdad Pact, are the *bête noire* of the Soviets in that part of the world.

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The Syrian Government has given an official denial of the reports, and going over to the offensive, has accused Britain, France, Turkey and Israel of assembling forces threatening her security.

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The surrounding circumstances suggest that neither side equals George Washington's passion for truth. And it is deplorable that nothing as yet points to a cessation of "on the brink of war" conditions in the Middle-East.

Those who have been supporters of the Government throughout the recent crisis will see in these conditions further justification of the now abandoned policy.

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rival at a disadvantage in the relationships of military power.

It was so between the two wars; it is now. All talk national defence in the name of peace when what they really have in mind is a truce pending the hotting up of the "cold war" into the hot war although it means mutual destruction.

Hence the great, indeed the dominant issue before mankind is no longer (if ever it was the issue) socialism versus capitalism, or any other "ism," but life versus death, the elimination of the military power disease from the life of man that the age of reason, common sense and human fellowship may be born and flourish.

We are moving through a twilight and nobody knows whether it is the twilight of the dawn of this new age or the approaching darkness of universal death. I do not know.

Only when war has been renounced will mankind escape from the dilemma of taking a gamble on which of the human race, and how many, are to be slaughtered.

*See Pamphlet No. III. "Rescuing the Weak" in the Peace Pledge Union "YOUR QUESTIONS ANSWERED" series. (Free, from Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.)

Aid to Egypt

Mr. Dodds-Parker again refused to admit liability and said that the Government considered any *ex gratia* payment a matter for the Egyptian Government. On November 26 he reported that 1,960 homeless were in the care of the Red Cross.

The Movement for Colonial Freedom sent a copy of last week's Peace News, in which photographs of the damage to Port Said appeared, to all MPs.

The British Red Cross Society has also received contributions earmarked for Egypt. It is expected that this will be forwarded to the International Committee of the Red Cross, a neutral body at Geneva, and the money made available for use in Egypt. It is understood that the British Red Cross has certain exchange facilities which make such transactions possible. The British Red Cross cannot, however, make an appeal for funds for Egyptian relief.

British Quakers, it is expected, will have to work through the American Friends Service Committee until diplomatic relations are restored with Egypt.

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questioning the validity of the basic principles of Marxism and Leninism.

Hence my subsequent criticisms of Stalin and the regime he dominated were always tempered with sympathy for the Soviet Union and its problems, a deep appreciation of its mighty achievements, and always from the Marxist or Leninist point of view.

All this can be confirmed by reference to my books, the last of which was a biography of STALIN, written during the war and published in 1944.

Shortly after the end of the war, I became more and more distressed at what I regarded as violent distortions of Leninism by the Stalinists.

But I got no satisfaction when I turned away from them to gaze on the Western scene.

It appeared to me, especially after Churchill's Fulton speech, that both sides of the "Iron Curtain" were as much alike as peas out of one pod and that the terms "Democracy" and "Peace" had entered into the coinage of "double-talk" of politicians, statesmen, and diplomats alike.

Re-thinking

In Russia it was all glorified in the "Stalin Cult." In Britain the same thing came under the "Churchill Cult." In America we have it as the "Ike Cult."

Everywhere it appeared to me that the voice of Jacob diverted attention from the hands of Esau and "Peace on Earth, Goodwill towards Men" had become the halo surrounding the Hydrogen bomb before it falls to transmute universal life into universal death.

I withdrew from all political activity and identity with any movement, feeling there was something fundamentally wrong somewhere, maybe in my own mode of thinking and understanding of life and the course of history.

I took Voltaire's advice literally and began to "cultivate my garden," and critically examine and reflect on the way I had come.

The outcome of a couple of years or more of intensive study of Marxism, Leninism, the Russian Revolution and world affairs, etc., was that I ceased to be either Marxist or Leninist.

I now regarded these respective "isms" as a mixture of mythology and over simplified theories of history, harnessed to a militaristic party of social conquest for the establishment of its own militaristic dictatorship.

Rejecting them I began to make for myself a re-evaluation of principles and re-orientate my thinking.

I continued to "cultivate my garden" for it is not easy to change one's habits of thought 30 years old, and refrained from public activities until the "Stalinists" of East and West, including those of the USA, brought us to the brink of rocket and hydrogen warfare.

This is what I now saw.

The Western powers (particularly Britain) had, in between the two wars, carved out of

kind and reduce Russia to ashes. Add to these facts that Britain, France and Israel have demonstrated to the world the advantages to be gained in getting in first before the referee blows the whistle.

Power disease

All the Great Powers regard international Charters of liberty, Commonwealth bonds of friendship and co-operation, and treaties of alliance, as of no account in times of self-interest by ignoring them and lying to the people.

It now appeared abundantly clear to me that whatever the political complexion of all these States, they suffered from the power disease inherent in every institution created by man as it grows from small beginnings to ever larger dimensions.

With growth comes centralisation of authority, which carries with it the vesting of social power in the hands of an oligarchy demanding obedience to its authority.

This is especially so in all war institutions created by States.

It is an obvious feature in the growth of the State, political parties, the Church, trade unions, industrial organisations, Press and publicity institutions, etc.

The current language of the leaders of all these institutions is war language, even when they talk peace. They talk "strategy" "alliance" "the enemy" "defence" "security" "mobilisation" "ideological warfare" "military pacts" "security purges" "brain washing," etc.

All questions of social welfare and well-being are conditioned either by the wars of yesterday or preparations for the war of tomorrow.

Abolish war

A remarkable and utterly demoralising scene spreads across the world. The Eden Government and its supporters along with Mollett of France and his supporters, wash their hands in the tears of the people of Hungary while Bulganin and Khrushchov wash theirs in the Suez Canal and treat Hungary as a colonial preserve.

The United Nations "Security Council" and the Governments of Russia and China, stand guard with watchful military eyes over the demarcation lines of the dismembered nations of Korea and Vietnam.

Over the whole earth the Governments of America, Russia and Britain hold aloft the mushroom, hydrogen umbrella of universal death, daring each other to be the first to shoot in an international suicide pact while exchanging notes on disarmament.

Every disarmament conference since the first world war has broken down under the sheer weight of hypocrisy and "double-talk" —talking peace and indulging in an arms race!

Not one statesman went to any one of the hundreds of sessions determined to rid the world of war by abolishing the means of war. Every statesman aimed at putting his

MIDDLE EAST

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I know only this: just so long as the nations permit Governments of men to rule over them whose minds are obsessed by power, who think only in terms of military strength, balance of power, defence of power, engage in double-talk, and lie to the people, mankind is in the hands of the socially diseased paranoiacs heading the human race to its doom.

Hence my third decision. I went to the editor of Peace News and asked that I may be identified with it in their campaign to abolish war and the weapons of war from the face of the earth.

Henceforth I wish to serve only the forces of light and life against those of darkness, ignorance and death.

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Registered as a newspaper. Entered as second-class matter at post office, Boston, USA. Published from 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4, by Peace News Ltd. Printed by Fish & Cook Ltd. (T.U.), 135 Fonthill Rd., London, N.4.